ROAD, HARBOR, AND RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

There is a document printed by the Senate in January, 1847, which does not appear to us as yet to have attracted the degree of attention which it deserves: for it is a document full of most interesting facts. It is a "statement of appropriations for the construction and repair of roads, and for the improvement of harbors and rivers in the United States; showing, as far as practicable, the amount expended in each State

This statement commences with the year 1806, and enumerates all objects of improvement of roads, harbors, and rivers, and the appropriations in their favor for each year, up to and including 1845, going uninterruptedly through every Administration during that long period of years-a period remarkable a lighthouse or beacon, in order to indicate to the for the supremacy of Democratic rule in the Legislative as well as Executive departments. There were occasional interruptions to the system, by Vetoes upon measures which were considered not power, however, singular as it may seem, is held by sufficiently national in their scope, and on that account objectionable. But the system prevailed, and received the sanction of every President during that long period except President Happyson who is well disavowed by the practice of the Government from long period except President HARRISON, who is well known to have been friendly to the system, but whose death occurred within a month after his in-

whole amount expended on all these objects during

| Under                                 | Mr. Jefferson      |      |     | \$48,400       |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|------|-----|----------------|
| * 46                                  | Mr. Madison -      |      |     | 250,800        |
| 46                                    | Mr. Monroe -       |      |     | 706,621        |
| • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • | Mr. J. Q. Adams    |      |     | 2,310,475      |
| 44                                    | Gen. Jackson       |      |     | 10,582,882     |
| **                                    | Mr. Van Buren      |      |     | 2,222,544      |
| **                                    | Mr. Tyler -        |      |     | 1,076,500      |
| A - shie                              | nariad artends the | onah | aho | nt forty years |

it will make the average expenditure on these accounts rather less than \$430,000 the year.

The range of these expenditures that is, the kind of improvement authorized-can be ascertain. self. The law of this year also contains an approed by referring to the document, as all are named in it.

The cession of Louisiana was not obtained until 1803, nor was the use of steam introduced into our fore noticed, gradually extending under the princiwaters until after that time. The war of 1812 gave | ple of the declaratory law of 1789 as the commerce to us a knowledge which we did not before possess of the country extended, and as the country itself of the value and importance of the Lakes. Florida extended, and as it became inhabited and better known. These references furnish us therefore with was ceded in 1819. It was of necessity, therefore, an unbroken series of the most grave and the highafter these events, that the General Government had est authority, and of the practice of the Governthe information required, and felt the necessity of ment under all administrations, from the first Conimproving its Western rivers and Lake harbors, as gress of 1789 up to and including that of 1845. If, well as the harbors on its more extended line of sea coast. It would have been worse than useless to attempt it before, and singularly unmindful of the do not perceive how the most fastidious reasoner great and increasing interests of the country to have can longer entertain a doubt of the power of Conneglected it after. We accordingly find, after the gress over these subjects, unless, indeed, he be of events stated, and as the Lake and Western river that incurable class which has respect for no opincountry became known and inhabited, that the system of harbor and river improvements expanded itself. In a word, as the country expanded, as its tion of a different character, which it may be well known, as its internal and external commerce increased, means of rendering navigation "easy and safe"—a principle adopted by the first law on these consent of Congress is given with reluctance, genesubjects of the first Congress of the United States- rally for very short periods, renewed as required at had to be commensurately extended.

on these subjects he will find it to have followed far as the greater number of these acts is concernthe development of our wants and resources, and to ed, to support health officers to ports, and for sick have kept behind them rather than to have been a temporary substitute, until Congress could digest stinted hand has been more the result of what that growth made necessary than of fostering aid to that growth. And it is now to be seen whether the the laws on these subjects for years before 1822 are wants of about ten millions of people, and of an annual trade of about three hundred millions of dolbe that as it may, these laws invariably show that
Government, is to assemble about the middle of next month or any Executive.

gives a synopsis of the legislation by Congress on prove, as the consent of Congress was given to the these subjects from 1806 to 1845. Curiosity and some leisure have induced us to look into the legislation exposed. This consent is also frequently accomof a previous period, the result of which we shall panied with a statement in the United States law of endeavor to lay briefly before our readers.

eminewor to tay briefly before our readers.

The first session of the first Congress was held on 1759. We had then no interior commerces was held on 1759. We had then no interior commerce on few members of the care of the Adminic. These care of the earth of the National Government was adopted, were in many cases winder the earth of the National Government was adopted, were in many cases winder the earth of the National Government, and the point of the National Government, and the point of the National Government, and the point of the point of the Care of the National Government, and the point of the National Government, and the point of the point of the Care of the National Government, and the point of after the adoption of the constitution, a declaratory act adopting as objects of the care and expense of the General Government all the artificial facilities inefficient and impracticable. And those who deto our commerce then known to us, and then in sire to return to this limited and partial system either use with us, in any inlet, bay, or harbor, on the broad principle of their having been erected for subterfuge to disguise a deadly hostility to these purposes of "rendering the navigation thereof easy | measures of improvement. and safe." We have therefore, from the very fra- The question, therefore, between the two systems mers of the constitution, the principle laid down (if that of using State authorities as agents, of so for Government action in such cases, namely, that limited practice and of such impracticable applicathese works shall be for the purposes of rendering tion, can be called a system) is not a question of navigation easy and safe. The kinds of works power and of right, but one merely of expediency enumerated were the kinds known to that time, and and convenience. The utter impracticability of were the only kinds that our infant commerce then using the State authorities for harbor and river imrequired. But the principle under which those provements by a grant of tonnage duties is too apkinds of works was classed was adapted to com- parent and too easily shown to need further remark. merce as it should expand itself, and is another It is, in fact, a palpable error, which could not for

1795, the condition that jurisdiction should be ceded to the United States is virtually abandoned; a joint jurisdiction of the two authorities, State and United States, being considered such a cession of jurisdiction as the declaratory law of 1789 required.

On following this legislation up it will be found that enumerated objects are increased beyond those of the first law of 1789, as "stakes," "stakage of channels," and of "sand bars;" and, on the 27th April, 1798, a law will be found "to cause the hannel of Warren river, from Narraganset bay to the port of Warren, in the State of Rhode Island, be staked out and marked." Here, therefore, s a direct case of the improvement of the channel of a river above its bay, and within the interior of a presented in the resolution. To act upon it now would, in

We do not perceive any difference in the power which can erect any kind of work to indicate a channel, a bar, or a rock, and the power to authorize operations for the amelioration of that channel, or for the removal of the bar or rock. It would be singular, indeed, if Congress had the power to erect mariner a danger to navigation, and yet had not the power to remove the bar or rock, and thereby ren er the expense of lighthouse or beacon at that lo cality for ever unnecessary. This distinction of some modern reasoners upon the constitution-a distinction unknown to the framers of that instruits origin to the present day.

The progress of legislation on these subjects con-

tinues to exhibit an extension of objects up to a law of the 3d March, 1801, in which the whole By referring to this document it appears that the subject is covered by an extremely broad expression. An appropriation is made in this law for whole amount expended on all these objects during that period, not including expenses of surveys, wzs \$17,199,223. Of this amount there was expend-whole ground is here covered. All that is necessary to make navigation "easy and safe" is here authorized, without reference to locality or to the kind

In 1802 there is the customary appropriation for lighthouses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, and an extension to the additional subjects of "bars and shoals," and for piers in the river Delaware. In 1803 and 1804 the appropriation is limited to that of previous years.

In 1805 we find the customary appropriation and various specific appropriations for similar objects in localities not heretofore named, the wants of which became known as commerce extended itpriation "for erecting public piers in the river Delaware.

From 1806 to the present day we have the legis lation on these subjects, in the Senate document be therefore, the practice of the Government from its origin to the present day, under every party, can be considered as settling a constitutional question, we ions but its own.

During a part of this period, however-namely western regions became inhabited, as its great rivers to notice. We refer to that peculiar legislation and lakes and its Atlantic harbors became better which gave the consent of Congress to certain acts of State legislation in reference to tonnage duties for specific purposes. An examination into this legislation can create no other impression than that the and to be commensurately extended.

If any one will examine carefully the legislation legislation were frequently, and indeed chiefly, as and disabled seamen. The legislation is evidently equal to their necessities. The vast and rapid and adopt its own course. The latter laws on these growth of the country has not received the aid it subjects also show that the State agents employed United States' Treasury Department. After 1822 we do not perceive any more of this legislation, or if there be any it has escaped our investigation, and the laws on these subjects for years before 1822 are more renewals of consent previously given. But, be that as it may, these laws invariably show that the consent of Congress had to be invoked and granted in all cases, and, of consequence, the plan and object had to be such as Congress should approve, as the consent of Congress was given to the law of a State in which the plan and object were exposed. This consent is also frequently accompanied with a statement in the United States law of the object, and always with a special reference to the State law that is approved.

Secondly, the legislation also shows that it was not merely a temporary but the resolution and to be invoked and granted in all cases, and, of consequence, the plan and object were exposed. This consent is also frequently accompanied with a statement in the United States law of the object, and always with a special reference to the Secondly, the legislation also shows that it was not merely a temporary but the resolution with the great move.

Mr. HASKELL wished it to be read for information; but this was objected to.

[Voices, "You can read it yourself."]

The CHAIR said the question would first be on the motion to refer to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; if that failed, it would next recur on referring to a select committee.

Mr. DONNELL moved to lay the resolutions on the table. On this motion the yeas and nays were called for, and ordered; and, being taken, resulted as follows: Yeas 15, nays his mition to lay the resolution upon the table, because I conceive it placed me in a false position. If we had laid the resolution upon the table, because I conceive it placed me in a false position. If we had laid the resolution are received and the resolution are received as follows: Yeas 15, nays this motion to lay the resolution upon the table, because I conceive it placed me in a false position. If we had laid the resolution are received and the resolution are received and the resolution are received and the resolution are received as follows: Yeas 15, nays this motion to lay the resolution of the table was objected to.

[Voices, "You can read lars, can be neglected with impunity by any party the consent of Congress had to be invoked and The Senate document to which we have referred and object had to be such as Congress should ap-

proof of the prophetic vision of the sagacious men of that day.

This Congress, however, required the cession of which was familiar with Government operations. ction of the sites of the improvements It would be to substitute a combersome, partial, ames; but this was found by experience to be an local, inefficient, and impracticable system for one that has proved to be simple and direct, national and efficient; and would be a result of the power of Congress in either case, as the constitutional edects the United States, and power of Congress over these questions has to be subsequent sessions, until, in invoked and admitted, whichever agent shall be used.

THE FRENCH QUESTION. SPEECH OF MR. CALHOUN.

IN SENATE, MARCH 30.

Mr. CALHOUN. I do not perceive the slightest neces ty for referring this resolution [proposing congratulations to cur with the views of the mover of it. The resolution is sim ple; it requires no examination of details, and the Senate is just as competent to form an opinion of its merits as any com mittee can possibly be.

I do not intend to enter at present into the great or my judgment, be premature. The people of France have done much. They have made a mighty revolution. Thev have overthrown an old and powerful monarchy, and decreed have overthrown an old and powerful monarchy, and decreed the establishment of a republic. All this they have accomplished in a very short period, and without any extraordinary bloodshed or confusion. It is indeed calculated to excite our wonder, and, so far as the aim of the French people extends, our lively sympathy. But the time has not yet arrived for congratulation. Much remains to be done. The real work to be performed is yet before them. They have decreed a resubble by the resubble of the probability of the probab public, but it remains for them to establish a republic. If the French people shall succeed in that; if they shall prove them-Freech people shall succeed in that; if they shall prove them-selves to be as wise in constructing a proper constitution as they have proved themselves to be skifful in demolishing the old form of government; if they shall really form a constitu-tion which shall on one hand guard against violence and anarchy, and on the other against oppression of the people, they will have achieved, indeed, a great work. They will then be entitled to the congratulations not only of this country, but of the whole civilized world. But if they fail, what then? What then? Can there be a more importary? If France fail, under what form of government find herself? I suppose it will be more government. herself? I suppose it will be out of the and herself I suppose it will be dut of the question to go back to a constitutional monarchy. The Bourhon family, in all its branches, is, I take it, now odious to the French people. They will hardly think of reinstating the old imperial dynasty of Napoleon. An aristocracy they cannot think of; and what, then, must be the result if they fail to establish a republic? If it come to contests within, or wars without; if it shall be necessary to resort to force to repress internal dis-France may find herself in the embrace of a military.

France may find herself in the embrace of a military.

Such a result would furnish no ground for congratulation, either on our pert or that of the civilized world.

This is, indeed, a mighty movement. It is pregnant with the consequences. Whether the result shall prove to be consequences.

mighty coosequences. Whether the result shall prove to be a blessing or a curse to France and the world, depends upon what is coming rather than upon what has been siready done. A revolution in itself is not a blessing. The revolution accomplished by the French people is, indeed, a wonderful event—the most striking, in my opinion, in history; but it may lead to events which will make it a mighty evil. It is, therefore, premature to offer our congratulations merely upon a revolution. We must look to the consequences and the we must stook to the consequences and the end. We must await the termination of the movement. I wish well to France—sincerely do I wish her well. There is no man that breathes who has a deeper or more profound love of constitutional government than I have—not one. But I have never known a period when there was so great a necessity for wise, deliberate, cautious procedure. Great events are before us. There lives not the man who can say what an

before us. There lives not the man who can say what another year may bring forth.

I offer no opinion as to the success or failure of the French people in this effort. I see tremendous difficulties in the way of success; difficulties resulting from the social condition of France, and the composition of her people. I see, on the other hand, a good deal of encouragement. The success of the French people will, in my opinion, depend, at least in a very high degree, upon the fact whether she can prevent war, that again depending upon two circumstances: one, whether that again depending upon two circumstances: one, whether she may have the self control to abstain from improper intererence with surrounding countries; the other, whether the may have the moderation and good sense to abstain from as sailing France. Thus far the leading Power of Europe has sailing France. Thus far the leading Power of Europe has certainly displayed great good sense and foresight. Great Britain has done as she ought to have done; and I trust that every other Power in Europe will stand and look on, giving France a fair opportunity to consummate the great work in which she has engaged. It is doe to France, to the civilized world, and to themselves, that European Powers should observe strict non-interference. If she succeed, it will be an admonition to all Europe that the time has arrived when they must agree to yield to liberty in a constitutional and a stable form agree to yield to liberty in a constitutional and a stable form. Thrones will fade away, and freedom and republican institu-tions become the order of the day. If, on the contrary, standing aloof and avoiding all contest, France shall fail in this great undertaking, after a fair trial, without the interference of other Powers, it will do more to put down liberty under a republican form of government than any other event which could

Now, I think that it is due all round that there shall be Now, I think that it is due air robins that diete shall be a fair trial. The first step to that, in my opinion, consists in quiet looking-on and as little interference as possible. To France the people every where will extend their sympathy; but I do contend that the Governments themselves ought to be prudent and abstemious in the expression of their sentiments. If we, as a government, extend our congratulations in this form. mal and solemn manner, others may take the opposite and deappeal to arms. That is one reason why this Government

Washing ......

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1848. Mr. CUMMINS asked leave to offer the following res

Resolved, That it becomes the people of the United States to rejoice that the sentiment of self-government is commending itself to the favorable consideration and adoption of the intelligent and thinking men of all intelligent nations Resolved, That the only legitimate source of political power is the will of the people, and the only rightful end of its exercise their good.

Resolved, That we sincerely hope that down-trodden humanity may succeed in breaking down all forms of tyranny and oppression, and in the establishment of free and national governments for the good of the government, and not for the ag-

governments for the good of the governed, and not for the aggrandizement of those who govern.

Resolved That we tender our warmest sympathies to the people of France and Italy in their present struggle for reform, and sincerely hope they may succeed in establishing free and constitutional governments, emanating from and based upon the will of the governed, suited to their wants and condition, and such as will secure to them liberty and safety.

Resolved, That we tender our sympathy and hopes of success to every people who are seeking to establish for themselves free and national governments, and that whatever of blood and treasure may be shed or spent in a struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, is to be charged to the unjust resistance of the oppressor, who strives to hold and exercise the rights of the people, usurped against their will, and exercised for the benefit of the few and the oppression of the many, and not to the people, who seek only to regain and exercise their natural rights in such manner as will best secure and promote their own happiness and safety.

The reception of the resolutions being objected to—

Mr. CUMMINS moved to suspend the rules to enable him

Mr. CUMMINS moved to suspend the rules to enable his

cas 121, nays 51.

Mr. C. then moved the above resolutions, which, being read,
Mr. H(LLIARD hoped that an Executive message just reived would be read by general consent.

Mr. HILLIARD moved a suspension of the rules to admit

The CHAIR reminded Mr. H. that the rules had already The CHARIC reminded Mr. H. that the these had already seen suspended for the purpose of receiving the resolutions.

The resolutions moved by Mr. CUMMINS were again read.

Mr. CUMMINS demanded the previous question.

Great confusion instantly arose, and remonstrances mingled ith cries of "no, no; ob, don't!"

Mr. CUMMINS withdrew his call for the previous question.

Mr. ASHMUN moved to amend the fourth resolut iserting at the end thereof the following:

"And we especially see an encouraging earnest of their su cess in the secree which pledges the said Government France to early measures for the immediate emancipation all slaves in their colonies." Mr. SCHENCK suggested as an amendment to the

ent to add the following:
"Recognising as we do that great cardinal republican principle that there should be 'neither slavery nor invol-servitude except for crime.'"

Mr. ASHMUN accepted this as a modification of And the question being on the amendment thus modified-

nendment. Its propriety was so obvious as to preecessity for remark. Many gentlemen were here on the floor at once, contend-ng, with loud cries of "Mr. Speaker!" for recognition by The resolution having been read as amended—

Mr. HILLIARD moved that the resolutions be r ne Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. BAYLY moved that they be referred to a select com

Mr. DUER said he had proposed expressing, in a ma which he conceived worthy of the dignity of the House and of the subject, the sympathy which he was very sure every gen-tleman could not but feel, and which he had intended to move to be referred to a select committee, to consist of one me from each State.

Mr. D. read his resolution; and, after some

tween Mr. DUER and the CHAIR-Mr. BAYLY modified his motion for a select as to read as follows : 'That the resolutions be referred to a select of

That the resolutions be referred to a select committee of one from each State, with instructions to report joint resolutions expressing the sympathy of this nation for the French people in their struggle for civil liberty."

Mr. C. J. INGERSOLL expressed his carnest wish that

the message from the President now on the Speaker's table should be read. He presumed there would be no objection. He understood that it was on the subject to which the pending solutions referred.

Much confusion, and cries of "I object, I object."

The CHAIR stated the question before the House to be on the resolution of reference, as modified.

Mr. C. J. INGERSOLL insisted that the objections made come too late, as the Speaker had handed the message to

The CHAIR ruled the objections to be in time, so that the nessage could not now be read but by a suspension of the ales. He had received no intimation of what the message contained. The House had been taken by surprise; and, as the Clerk had not begun to read, or even opened the envelope in which the message was contained, he ruled the objection to

ng of the Chair was sustained—Ayes 90, noes 30.
Mr. HASKELL inquired whether it was in order now to

fler a substitute?
The CHAIR replying in the negative—
Mr. HASKELL wished it to be read for information; but

a powerful dynasty and processing some features in the scene which France presents not wholly agreeable to a thoughtful observer, and which awaken the apprehension that the provisional government just established has promised more than it can redeem.

The fralernite which has been adopted may not be consistent with regulated liberty; it may be the dream of idealists, and not the conception of a philosophical statesman. The measures are, too, which has been adopted in regard to the labor and sublime spectacle manifested by any people than that which was manifested by the people of France in their subsequent conduct. Among other decrees of the Provisional Government, and the civil authorities subordinate thereto, he found the following: task which has been undertaken. There are circumstances which may awaken apprehension, but they cannot repress which may awaken apprehension, but they cannot repress sympathy. No, sir; they cannot prevent the expression of Obepaties; constitution of a republic; every citizen to be our ceep and full sympathy with a people struggling to make a free government like our own. I, for one, cannot look upon such a spectacle unmoved. It may be premature—it may even be rash; but I should feel myself unworthy of a seat in an American Congress, if I could refose to cheer a people ongaged in such a work. May they go on and prosper, and may they erect upon the soil of France a government resting upon the great principles of constitutional law, ensuring or der at home, commanding respect abroad, and throwing over Europe the clear and steady light of rational liberty.

I regret, sir, that the geotleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Assaun) has thought proper to connect with this subject another which does not belong to it. I do not impute to him any improper metive, but he must know that the people of our part of this confederacy cannot hear without painful sen-

their social institutions alluded to in such offensive. There is on the part of the South nothing aggressive they are content to sustain the Government as it is; they make no war upon the people or the institutions of the North. But, sir, they observe your movements here with profound interest. They know their rights, and there is throughout their entire

borders a purpose to maintain them, with a courage and firmness which nothing can intimidate or shake.

The feeling, then, in regard to the subject which has thus been thrust upon the House so recklessly, is so profound, so well settled, and, to borrow a mode of expression from the French, so eternal, that it is impossible to touch it without

anger.

I repeat, sir, that in moving to refer the resolutions before us to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have no hostile purpose. I desire that when Congress does speak upon this subject, it shall speak in well weighed and becoming terms. I do not like the language of these resolutions. It so happens that we are often called on to vote on propositions suddenly thrown into the House, when we cannot express our own true sense. Let the resolutions go to the appropriate con and come back to us in a better form. Mr. McCLERNAND said, like the honorable.

Mr. McCLERNAND said, like the honorable gentleman from Alabama, (Mr Hilliand,) he sympathized with France; like him he objected, and decidedly, to the firebrand which had been introduced into this subject in the form of the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Asnaun.) Unlike the gentleman from Alabams, however, he did not feel that distrust in the success of the

tte movement in France—
Mr. HILLIARD interposed, and the floor being yielded, Mr. HILLIARD interposed, and the floor being yielded, begged that the gentleman would not misapprehend him as saying that he distrusted the movement. What he had said was, that there were certain indications connected with the movement which were calculated to awaken the apprehension that all might not be done as could be desired. He, however, hoped for the best, and cordially sympathized with the people of France.

Mr. McCLERNAND proceeded. Without affirming any thing of what the gentleman had said, he (Mr. McC.) wished to say that he had confidence, sufficient confidence, in the ultimate success of the great movement in which the French people were engaged.

people were engaged.

Since this subject had been introduced upon this floor, he

hoped he would be indulged by the House in a few remarks explanatory of his views in regard to it. If the subject had explanatory of his views in regard to it. If the subject had not been introduced by some other member he should have felt himself called upon to introduce it, for he believed it to be a duty incumbent on the American Congress and the American people to manifest their sympathies and congratulations at the late movement in France.

What was that movement, and on what did it rest. It

was such a movement as might very well engage the attention of the whole world, and particularly of the American people, who owed France so much. It was France who befriended us in our infancy and time of need, who assisted us to establish our independence, and to erect the noble fabric of liberty which, through the ordination of Heaven, had become the evanuals for her own assistations and her own become the example for her own aspirations and her own patriotic effort. God grant her success!

Such should be and no doubt was the sentiment of the

great mass of the American people—of every American who was worthy of the name, who had his heart in the right place. As France assisted us, according to the circumstances

was premature; that the revolution might waste itself in anarcby, or sink into despotism; that we should wait for certainty of its success. He thought not. Now was the time, if we really success. He thought not. Now was the time, if we really success. He thought not. Now was the time, if we really wished France to be successful, for the voice of sympathy and encouragement. Let that voice go forth from this hail, and from every city and hamlet in the land; let it cross the Atlantic and echo in every part of France. Yes, let it resound as the deep heartfelt shout of a free people of the new world that a giant republic was about to be given to the cause of human freedom in the old world. We should rejoice at the regeneration and emergination of analyzed nations. Freedom was one of and emancipation of enslaved nations. Freedom was one of the appointed agents of God to advance the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of man; therefore it deserved to be encouraged by us every where and at all times; and may she atinue her triumphs until the whole world be made to ac-owledge her mild sceptre and genial sway! It occurred to him that the apprehensions of those who feared the success of the French movement were unfounded; that such persons in-terpreted incorrectly and imperfectly the state of Europe. What was that state? and what did it import? The revolution of 1789, although abused in many respects, effected one great and paramount object. It schooled France in the knowledge and love of liberty, which, however it might be repressed, must at no distant day result in the fruition of maturity and permanence. Had not the revolution of 1789 occurred, perhaps France would have been less competent for self-government—for the establishment of republican institutions—perhaps the late revolution would not have occurred at all. One thing was certain : France had now arrived at that state

relapsing into permanent despotism, which must replace every form of royal authority with free institutions.

Besides this one great advantage of the revolution of 1789—a revolution much abus d—there were many other incidental advantages resulting from it, some of which were, that the monopoly of military rank by the ancient nobility and the right of primogeniture in the descent and perfect equal-ed; the lettres de cachet were suppressed, and perfect equal-ity in the administration of public justice was secured. Yes; ty in the administration of public justice was secured. Who should say that of primogeniture in the descent of property were abolish-Mr. C. J. INGERSOLL said he was greatly surprised to bear that the Speaker or the House had been taken by surprise. He believed the subject of the message was generally understood; and, as it had been delivered to the Clerk to be read, he took an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The administration of puone Justice Justice was secured. The summistration of puone Justice Justice Language and this and more was accomplished. Who should say that the work thus gloriously begun would not be completed? Who should say that France, tous schooled by the experience of the past, and stimulated by partial success, should not perseve in her efforts until her liberties should be established on

a firm popular basis? For one he religiously believed, as he fervently hoped, that such would be the result.

And what had France already done towards the accomlishment of this great object? He was about to show that pshe had done much. Goaded by a tyrannical censorship, exercised by the Government over the freedom of the press, the freedom of discussion, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and consult together for the public good, she determined to vindicate her rights, "peaceably if she could, forcibly if she must." Accordingly the people of Paris appointed a day for a reform banquet—a public meeting where the giveances of the people and the best means of redressing them were peaceably to be discussed—the 22d of February—a day which he hoped would hereafter be sacred to the cause of French liberty, as it was in America from the death of the Father of American independence. The prefect of police and the commander of the national guards issued their proclamations prohibiting the assemblage. But upon the day appointed large masses of people were seen moving first towards the place of rendezvous, and afterwards towards the Chamber of Deputies, there to American independence. The prefect of police and the com-mander of the national guards issued their proclamations prohi-biting the assemblage. But upon the day appointed large masses of people were seen moving first towards the place of rendezvous, and afterwards towards the Chamber of Deputies, there to

13. The persons, rights, and property of foreigners to be

espected.

14. All citizens to be armed as National Guards.

15. Diminution in the hours of labor.

16. Property of all kinds and works of utility to be pre-

17. The army to be reorganized. If he might be allowed to maralize upon this grand phenomenon what should he say? He should say it was the natural and necessary result of conflicting elements in principles. For a long time the principle of democratic numbers and popular sovereignty had been undermining the antagonist principle of aristocracy and regal authority throughout Europe; pular sovereignty had been undermining the antagonist prin-ciple of aristocraey and regal authority throughout Europe; and at length, in France, the austere and blood-stained edifice of benighted centuries had been crumbled to the dust— armies, thrones, and castes had been swept away as an atom

efore the popular breath.

The French revolution was not merely the

The French revolution was not merely the triumph of the multidude over the unequal resistance of one man. Far more. It was the triumph of liberty over tyranny; of truth over error; of humanity over inhumanity. Yes, it was a distinct and authentic annunciation of the great and inestimable truth that the time was rapidly approaching when in Europe military force must bow to moral force; when kings must bow to the superior majesty of the people; when the masses of Europe have only to will it to be free.

France, if she maintained and matured the fruits of her revolution, would rise with salient energy to the ascendant position and influence which would belong to her as the leading republic of Europe. She would be enabled to extend the conquests of her free principle far beyond the flight of her cagles in the days of the almost romantic triumphs of her great captain. Already Italy, Denmark, Naples, Prussia, and Sardinia were awaking from the apathy of centuries, and who should say that the example of France would not hasten the time when all these countries should be enrolled upon the blazoned list of freedom.

ten the time when all these countries should be enrolled upon the blazoned list of freedom.

He needed not say that he bore towards Louis Philippe no feelings of ill will. On the contrary, he respected him as a man for his intelligence and many virtues. Even as a monarch, there was much in him to admire. Now, in his retirement, he (Mr. McC.) would regret his private afflictions. But he did not speak of the individual. He spoke of France and liberty—considerations far higher. As an American, he bore towards France a warm and affectionate gratitude, not only for the reasons he had already assigned, but because she was the natal land of the good, the great, the brave, the generous, the philanthropic, the noble Lafayette. As an American, he wished to see France and the United States as the two great republics of the old and of the new world soar and culminate in the moral grandeur and glory of eternal freedom and Christian civilization.

the debate further than to express, with great deference to all parts of the House, in a word or two, his views upon the me-thod in which what was to be done ought to be done, and to submit to the House what had been done on a former and

similar occasion.

He might say here that he understood that in another part of this building the President's message had been read. Of course it was a public paper. It would pass upon the public journals; it would be familiar to every body; and he could not imagine that the power of this House, at least of the other side of the House, could have any indisposition to suffer that paper, together with the rest of the materials on the subject, to be referred to a standing committee, as the gentleman from Alabama proposed, or to a select and special committee, as he (Mr. I.) believed would have been the better course, and more fitting on this occasion. He begged leave to read to the House the whole of what President Washington said, in the presence of his Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering—whom nobody would charge with Democracy—on the 1st of January, 1796, when the French minister, Adet, presented to him the colors of France. He took the whole paragraph, from which Mr. of France. He took the whole paragraph, from which Mr. Rush, our minister at France, quoted only the last part. This was only part of his speech—the warmest he ever made, although no doubt he spoke the honest sentiments of his magnanimous mind :

"I receive, sir, with lively sensibility the symbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchisement of your nation, the colors of France, which you have now presented to the United States. The transaction will be announced to Congress, and the colors will be deposited in the archives of the United States, which are at once the evidence and the memorials of their freedom and independence. May this be perpetual; and may the friendship of the two republics become commensurate with

Now, upon this proceeding of the President of the United States on the first of the year—on the 1st of January, 1796, which in his speech he said he selected because it was a day of general j y—upon the reading to this House of what Gen. Washington communicated in his message of January 4, 1796, what action was had? He read from the journal:

"A message in writing was received from the President of the United States, by Mr. Dandridge, his Sceretary, as fol-

"UNITED STATES, JANUARY 4, 1796.

"Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

"A letter from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, received on the 22d of the last month, covered an address, dated the 21st of October, 1794, from the Committee of Public Safety to the Representatives of the United States in Congress, and also informed me that he was instructed by the Committee to present to the United States the colors of France. I thereupon proposed to receive them has Friday, the first day of the new year—a day of general joy and congratulation. On that day the Minister of the French Republic delivered the colors, with an address, to which I returned an answer. By that day the Minister of the French Republic derivered the colors, with an address, to which I returned an answer. By the latter the House will see that I have informed the Minister that the colors would be deposited with the archives of the

"But it seemed to me proper previously to exhibit to the two Houses of Congress these evidences of the continuation of the French Republic, together with the semi pressed by me on the occasion, in behalf of the Un

nanimous people.

" ordered, that Mr. Giles and Mr. Samuel Smith be ap-

pointed a committee to wait on the President with the ing resolution."

Now, suffer him (Mr. L) to add, that he had und Now, suffer him (Mr. L) to add, that he had understood that the message of the President, as it had been read in the Sensie, cantained an allusion to the first treaty signed by the Representatives of the United States—the treaty of Paris, signed by Benjamin Franklin, Silas Dean, and Arthur Lee, together with Mr. Gerard, the first Minister of the United States to France—a treaty which he had often heard the late J. Q. Adams say contained the germ of all the great principles of commercial and maritime freedom, as any body would be sa isfied by an examination of its provisions.

This was a great occasion. It was not necessary that he should follow his friend from Illinois (Mr. McClennand) in the expression of his opinions. His object was to see that

should follow his friend from Illinois (Mr. McClernand) in the expression of his opinions. His object was to see that whatever was done might be worthy of this great occasion, and with as nearly as possible the unanimity of the former occasion; that there might be no party division, but that the voice of the American people might be spoken as it ought to be spoken—the voice of twenty inillions of people, which every body knew could not be spoken without immense effect. And suffer me (said Mr. I.) simply to say, in reference to an opinion that I see has been expressed by a highly distinguished member of this Congress in another branch of this building—with whom I began public life here, and under whom it may be said I served my apprenticeship here; for whom nobody has uniformly entertained stronger, kinder, more respectful feetings. Suffer me to say that that gentlewhom nobody has uniformly entertained stronger, kinder, more respectful feelings. Suffer me to say that that gentle-man's doctrine that we are to wait, is to me a new doctrine, which would throw our weight into the scale of confusion, of civil war, and very probably of despotic government; whereas, if we act promptly, if we act unnimously, or nearly so; if we act with the dignity, if we act with the decorum that becomes this great occasion, the consequence must be, without any other interference than the mere expression of the good will of the American people and the Congress of the United States, and now (with the communication of the Pre-sulent, of all the branches of this Government) the conse-

United States, and now (with the communication of the President, of all the branches of this Government) the consequence must be, that every where, not merely in France, but in Italy, England, Germany, every where, the consequence must be the peaceable establishment of something at least approximating to the public institutions of this country.

He should not (be remarked) express any opinion as to what these resolutions ought to be; but the withholding them any longer than was necessary to couch in proper phrase the judgment of this country was to promote war and discord, to encourage the return of despo ism in its worst and most dangerous form. He had nothing furth r to say than that he tusted that this matter would be done, when it was done, with the dignity that belonged to this House and the other House of Congress—with the decoram that belonged to the country. He trusted that these resolutions would be referred to a select committee and promptly reported and acted on.

Mr. HASKELL remarked that it was known to the House that during the last week he had given formal notice that upon this day it was his intention to introduce resolutions here that during the last week he had given formal notice that upon this day it was his intention to introduce resolutions here in reference to the recent political or revolutionary movement in France. He had desired to embody in the form of a resolution such a temperate; but at the same time distinct expression of sentiment as he thought would fully accord with the feeling that now animated the bosom of the people of this country, and which would be cheering and gratiying to the